

is determined entirely by the *pursitpimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife.

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Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursitpimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *terersthi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child; but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two rôles he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote.

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The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *manmòkh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy

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192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
 593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
 577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the pro-
 cedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book¹ on the Todas has suggested that the
 234 existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the
 611 Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
 842 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of
 descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there
 came in inheritance through males among themselves, while
 they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the
 female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning
 descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence
 of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of
 interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion,
 wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The
 Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that
 any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes
 to one another should not be without interest to the student
 of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
 611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing
 842 so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
 181 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
 in the early stages of human society. We have various
 groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female
 buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is
 complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's
 group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very
 artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people
 like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo,
 to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest
 interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If
 they had attached importance to paternity nothing would
 have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

¹ P. 132.

and even to have developed a system of male descent among their buffaloes such as exists among themselves.

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect.

ADOPTION

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies.

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pōlm* of the father.

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom which makes it necessary that a man should have children. The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan.

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nōdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

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DEBT AND SERVITUDE

426 It seems to be not uncommon for a Toda to die in debt,
 593 and it is the duty of the sons to pay off the debts of their
 466 father. If there are no children, the payment of the debt is
 regarded as the duty of the brothers of the dead man.

When children have to pay the debts of their father, they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense. The usual pay is six rupees a year, two cloaks, and food. To this is often added the loan of a milking buffalo.

This custom of working for another is called *kilvatkerthchi* or *kilvatkerthiti*. Several of the eight sons of Pushteidi and Keitan (6) are now working to pay their father's debts. Two of the sons are married to one woman and live at one of their own villages, where they look after the buffaloes of the family. Another brother is unmarried, but lives with a Teivali woman. The other five sons are unmarried and work for various people. One is employed on a tea estate, and the others are working for different Todas, who reward them in the manner already described. The milking buffaloes lent to them are handed over to the charge of the brothers who are married.

[582] It is very exceptional to find a family in which so many of the men are unmarried, and this was said to be due to the necessity of paying off their father's debt. In this case the two eldest brothers have remained unmarried, but this was said to have been due to their own choice. It seems that it is left to the family to decide which of them shall marry and which shall undertake the duty of paying the debt. As soon as the debt is paid off, all the sons are allowed to marry.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 There is no doubt that women have a subordinate position in the Toda community. The ceremonial of the dairy has a predominant place in the lives and thoughts of the people, and the exclusion of women from any share in this ceremonial must have influenced the attitude of the

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the *Ādabuddiken* before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother.

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet'; crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled *Ādabuddiken*.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's
593 feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people
576 hinders the ceremony of *Ādabuddiken* from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite
562 unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the
531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—*Putkuli*—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

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IV

blue cotton, in the fashion which some of the photographs in this book will show.

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The turbulent cattle are tended solely by men and boys. And the men manage out-door affairs generally.

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It is a quiet, undemonstrative, but intensely domestic people; domestic in the wider sense of viewing the entire family, to the last cousin, much as one household, in which everyone is everywhere entirely at home; each one assisting, with the steadiness of a caterpillar, in the easy, progressive task of emptying his neighbour's larder: no one exerting himself by one fraction to raise the family. The great feature in Toda organisation, is the all-absorbing power of his domestic attachments, which, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up all other qualities.

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If the Todas lose, in a material point of view, from deficient size in Acquisitiveness, and the propensities generally, yet they certainly are large gainers thereby in the quiet, even tenor of their domestic life, undisturbed by the wrongs of grasping, vindictive, overbearing natures. They no doubt have quarrels, in the course of which they—particularly the women—are known to use very high language indeed and expressive gestures, but they are mere pebbles in a brook as compared with the rocks that break the flow of other waters.

The men maintain their authority in the home circle very sensibly, and without attempt at tyranny; but I saw too a woman who, as was very evident, ruled her husband. She must have acquired this authority by means of some slight superiority in quality of brain, for she had no apparent vantage over him. I was so much interested in this repetition amongst an unambitious, retiring, and primitive people, of a well-known phase of married life in energetic folk nearer home, that I had hoped to induce the pair to present themselves to be photographed; and the temptation I offered would have succeeded but for their age, which made a long walk over the hills too great an effort.

THE GREEN FUNERAL

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In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad.

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.

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When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way.

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It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social prejudices, that there is no religious necessity for a son to perform any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man.

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The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into

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THE TODAS.

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In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

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In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The

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husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kāndal it is *Pirzhākhām*.

„ Muttinād „ *Pirzhirzhk*.

„ Kodanād „ *Kurrdurvirzh*.

„ Manjakal „ *Bellgarāff*.

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Māmāl* and *Shāstra*. One man added "By the Bow and Arrow† we have got a wife who is with child."‡

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The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

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They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordai Kēdu*), which takes place soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marcenāli Kēdu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

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* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the *Tāli*.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moeqling, p. 40 :—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow.

"On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?¹ That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Menu, lib. 33.

¹ See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock; *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 9 :—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the idea of marriage among the lower races of man generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not united but enslaved to her husband."

172range. The description given of them is as yet so vague that it is impossible to judge of their exact character; but I believe that they resemble the bill-hook and sword or dagger form.

I found cairns and other remains in the straths running up between the higher summits—on which, as before stated, they are more usually found—as stone altars, surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, and mounds of earth enclosed by circular walls.

The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described; while the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their workpeople, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question.

595 The Todas are especially remarkable for the practice of polyandry, a custom which exists among but few tribes, as, for instance, in parts of Thibet and of the Himalayas, among the Nayrs of Malabar, and one or two other races only. A Toda woman often has three or four husbands, who are all brothers, and with each of whom she cohabits a month at a

837time. What is more singular, such young men as, by the paucity of women among the tribe, are prevented from obtaining a share in a wife, are allowed, with the permission of the fraternal husbands, to become temporary partners with them.

593 Notwithstanding these singular family arrangements, the greatest harmony appears to prevail among all parties—husbands, wives, and lovers. The children live happily with their putative parents, equally well treated on every side, and as common to all alike, though, I believe, if any special reason demands it, the senior husband can claim the elder children.

582 The betrothal to the first husband commences at a very early age; and all subsequent brothers of the bridegroom-elect become from their birth bound to the common prospective wife. The compact, as regards the first pair, is conducted by their respective male parents; the father of the bridegroom *in esse* presenting a buffalo and a new robe to the other, the acceptance

T₀ would give the following interpretation
 829 of the polyandrous systems found: It
 595 seems to me that polyandry is "not neces-
 121 sarily a primitive institutional form of
 182 marriage, but that it is due to the psycho-
 T logical reaction of individuals living in
 829 communities subject to environmentally
 595 poor and insecure economic conditions,
 121 persisting, in the case of the Tibetans,
 182 through isolation from other communities,
 K or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of
 [121] defense mechanism against invasion by
 other cultures." I have not included the
 Tiyas in this definition because I do not
 know them sufficiently and would like to
 go more thoroughly into their polyandry
 before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti Now, if I take this definition, instance
 595 by instance, I shall be able to interpret
 114 exactly what I mean by it. When I first
 212 say that polyandry is "not necessarily a
 primitive institutional form of marriage,"
 I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans
 are all literate and educated people, with
 whom you can speak quite freely, who have
 a very pronounced sense of reality and do
 not in any way seem like a primitive
 people. It thus looks as if polyandry were
 a system entirely outside of the usual
 evolutionary stages of marriage, in which
 anthropology puts the matriarchal before
 the patriarchal system.

To Next, I say that polyandry is "due to
 595 the psychological reaction of individuals
 114 living in communities subject to environ-
 [182] mentally poor and economically insecure
 [593] conditions," by which I mean, living in a
 • physical environment which leads to a
 miserable economy. This economy makes
 Ti them very interdependent, within each
 595 family, upon the help of each other, and
 114 this interdependence, in turn, which is
 [182] stressed very highly in these families be-
 [593] cause of the necessity of sticking together
 under the difficult physical conditions,
 calls for less aggression among the mem-
 bers of the family itself and among groups
 of them. It seems to me that this stress
 on the condemnation of aggression is such
 that even something approaching incest

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appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

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I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they do not want the women to quarrel, by which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

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It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son